¶ The hurt of sedition howe greueous it is to a Commune welth.

M.ccccc.xlix.

The reward of Abla-lon the Rebel.

Monge so many & notable benifites, where w God hath al redy liberallye, and plentifully endued vs, there is nothing more beneficial, then, that we haue by hys grace, kepte vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see suche miseries, hange ouer thole state of commune welth, thorough the great misorder of youre sedition, that it maketh vs muche to reioyce, that we haue bene, nother partners of youre doynges, nor conspirers of youre councelles. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the aduoydynge of Dronckennes, dyd cause theyr son-

nes to beholde their seruauntes whē they were Drōcke, that by beholding theyr bestlynes, they mighte aduoide the lyke vyce, euen so hath God lyke a merciful father, stayed vs frō your wyckednes, that by beholdynge the filth of youre faute, we myghte iustly for offēce, abhore you like rebelles, whome elles by nature, we loue lyke Englishe men. And so for oure selues we haue greate cause to thanke God, by whose religion and holy word dayly taughte vs, we learne not onely to feare him truely, but also to obey our kinge fayethfully, and to serue in our own vocacion lyke subiectes honestlye. And as for you we haue suerlye iust cause to lament you as brethren, and yet iuster cause to ryse agaynste you as enemyes, and moste iust cause to ouerthrowe you as rebelles. For what hurt could be done, other to vs priuatly, or to the hole cōmune welth generallye, that is now wmischife so

brought

brought in by you, ẏ cuẽ aswe se now the flame of your rage, so shall we necessarily be cõsumed here after wᵗ the miserie of the same. Wherfore cõsider your selues wᵗ some light of vnderstãdinge, & marke this greuous & horrible faute, whych ye haue thus vily cõmitted, howe hainous it muste nedes appere to you, if ye wil reasonably consider ẏ whych for my dutyes sake, and my hole cuntryẽs cause, I wil at this preſẽt declare vnto you. Ye whych be boũd by gods word, not to obeye for feare, like mẽ pleasers, but for conscięce sake like christiãs, haue cõtrari to gods holy wyl, whose offẽce is euerlasting death, & cõtrari to ẏ godly order of quietnes, set out to vs in ẏ kings Maiesties lawes, ẏ breach wherof is not vnknowẽ to you, takẽ in hãd vncalled of god, vnsent by men, vnfit by reasõ, to cast away your boũdẽ duties of obedience, & to put on you agaynst

the magistrates, goddes office committed to the magistrates, for the reformacio of your pretensed iniuries.

In the whyche doynge, ye haue first fauted greuously agaynst God, next offended vnnaturally our Soueraigne Lorde, thyrdly troubled miserably the hole commune wealth, vndone cruelly many an honest mā, and broughte in an vtter miserye both to vs the kynges Subiectes, & to youre selues beynge false rebelles, and yet ye pretende that partelye for goddes cause, and partely for the commune welthes sake, ye do a tyse, when as your selues cannot deny, but ye that seke in word goddes cause, do breake in dede goddes cammaūdement, and ye that seke the commune welth, haue destroyed the commune welth, and so ye marre, that ye woulde make, and breake that ye would amend, because ye neyther seke anye thynge tyghtly,

nor

nor woulde amende anye thynge orderly.

☞ He that fauteth, fauteth agaynste goddes ordinaunce, who hath forbidden all fautes, and therefore ought againe to be punished by goddes ordinaũce, who is the reformer of fautes. For he sayeth, leaue the punishmente to me, and I wyl reuenge them. But the magistrate is the ordinaunce of god, appoynted by him w̃ the swerde of punishmente, to loke strayghtlye to all euil doers. And therefore, that, that is done by ẏ magistrate, is done by God, whom the scripture often tymes doeth call God, because he hath the execution of Goddes offyce. How then do you take in hand to reforme? Be ye Kynges? by what authoritye, or by what succession? Be ye the Kynges offycers? by what commyssion? be ye called of God? by what tokens declare ye that? Goddes worde

teacheth vs, ỹ no man ſhould take in hand anye office, but he ỹ is called of God lyke Aaron. What Wayles I praye you called you? what gods miniſter had you rife? Ye rife for religion. What religion taught you ỹ? If ye were offered perſecuciõ for religiõ, ye ought to flie, ſo chriſt teacheth you & yet you intẽd to fight. If ye would ſtand in the trueth, ye ought to ſuffer lyke marters, and you woulde fleye lyke tyrauntes. Thus for religion ye kepe no religion, and nothet wol followe the councell of Chriſte, nor the conſtãcy of martyrs. Why rife ye for religion? Haue ye any thing contrary to goddes boke? Yea haue ye not all thynges agreable to goddes worde? But the newe is differente from the olde, & therefore ye wyll haue the old. If ye meaſure the olde by trueth, ye haue ỹ eldeſt, if ye meaſure the old by phanſy, then it is hard bycauſe mens phankies chaungeth to geue that is olde

old. Ye wyll haue holde stil. Wyl ye haue anye older then that as Christe lefte, and hys Appostles taught, and the fyrste Churche after Christe dyd vse? Ye wyll haue that the Canons do establyshe. Why, that is a greate deale yonger then that ye haue, of later tyme, & nullier inuented. Yet that is it that ye desier. Why, the ye desier not the oldest. And do you prefer the Bysshoppes of Rome a fore Christe, mens inuentions a fore goddes law, the newer sorte of worshyp before the elder? Ye seke no religion, ye be decey ued, ye seke traditions. They that teach you blynd you, that so instructe you. If ye seke what the old doctours saye, yet loke what Christe the oldest of al sayeth. For he sayeth before Abraham was made I am. If ye seke the truest waye, he is the very trueth, if ye seke the rediest waye, he is the ve rye waye, if ye seke euerlastinge lyfe,

he

he is the very lyke. What religion, would ye haue other nowe, then hys religiō? You wold haue the bibles in agayne. It is no marueil, your blynd guides, would leade you blynde stil. Why be ye Houllates & backes, that ye cannot looke on the lyghte Christe sayeth to euery one, serche ye the scriptures, for they beare wytnes of christ. You say pul in the scriptures, for we wyl haue no knowledge of Christe. The Appostles of Christ, wyl vs to be so readye, that we maye be hable to geue euery man an accompt of our fayth. Ye wyl vs not ones to reade the scriptures, for feare of knowyng of our fayeth. Sayncte Paule prayeth that euerye man maye encrease in knowledge, ye desire that our knowledge might decay agayne. A true religion, ye seke by lyke, and worthy to be fought for. For without the swerd in dede nothynge can helpe it, nother

Christ

Christ, nor trueth, nor age can maintayne it. But why should ye not lyke ỳ whiche Gods word establisheth, the primatiue churche, hath authorised, the greteſt learned mẽ of this realme hath drawen, the hole consente of the parliament hath confirmed, the kynges Maiestie hath set forth? Is it not truely set out? Can ye deuise any truer, then Christes Apostles vsed? Ye thyncke it is not learnedlye done. Dare ye commons, take vpon your more learninge, then the chosen Byshoppes and Clearkes of this realme haue? Thynke ye folly in it? Ye were wont to iudge your parliamente wyseſt, and nowe wyll ye sodenly excell them in wysdome? Or can ye thincke it lacketh authoritye, whych the king the parliament, the learned, the wyse, haue iustly approued? Learne, learne, to knowe this one pointe of religion, that God wylbe worshipped, as he hath

hath prescribed, & not as we haue deuised, & that his wyl is wholy in hys scriptures, whych be full of gods spirite, & profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lies, to amēd faultes, to bring one vp in righteousnes, ỹ he that is a gods man maye be perfecte, & redy to al good workes. What can be more required to seruе God wyth all? And thus much for religion rebelles.

☞ The other table of Norfolke rebelles, ye pretende a commune welth. Howe a mende ye it, by kyllynge of Gentilmen, by spoylynge of Gentilmenne, by enprisonynge of Gentylmen? A maruelous tamed common welth. Why shuld ye thus hate them, for theyr ryches, or for their rule? rule they neuer toke so much in hande, as ye do nowe. They neuer resisted the kyng, neuer wyth stode his counsaile, be fayethfull at this daye, when ye be fayethles, not only to the king, whose sub=

subiectes ye be, but also to your lords whose tennaũtes ye be. Is thys your true dutie in sume of homage, in most of fealtie, in all of a legeans, to leaue your duties, go backe from your promises, faull from your fayeth, and cõtrary to lawe and trueth, to make vnlawfull assembles, vngodlye companyes, wycked and detestable campes, to disobey your betters, and to obeye youre tanners, to chaunge youre obedience from a kynge to a ket, to submyt youre selues to traitours, and breake youre fayth to your true king and lordes? Thei rule but by law, if other wyse: the law, the Counsayle, the King, breaketh their rule. Ye haue orderly sought no redres, but ye haue in tyme foũd it. In contreies some must rule, some must obey, euery man may not beare lyke stroke, for euerye man is not lyke wyse. And they that haue sene moste, and beste habyll to beare

it,

it, and of iust dealyng beſyde, be moſt fit, to rule. It is an other matter to vnderſtande a mans owne gryefe, and to knowe the cõmune welthes foꝛe, & therefoꝛe, not they that knowe theyꝛ owne cafe, as euery man doeth, but they that vnderſtande the commune welthes ſtate, oughte to haue in contreyes, the preferemente of rulyng. If ye felte the payne that is ioyned with gouernaunce, as ye ſe and like the honoure, ye woulde not hurte otheers to rule thẽ, but rather take greate paine to be ruled of theym. If ye had rule of the kynges Maieſtye committed vnto you, it were wel done ye had ruled the gentilmen, but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare there rule, it is to thynke the kynges Maieſtye folyſhe, and vniuſt, that hath gyuen certeyne rule to theym. And ſeynge by the ſcripture, ye oughte not to ſpeke euil of any Magiſtrate of the people,

why

why shoulde ye not only speake euyll of them whom the kynges Maiestye hath put in office, but also iudge euil of the kyng him selfe, and thus sedicious lye in felde to stande wyth youre sweardes drawen agaynst hym.

☞ If ryches offend you, because ye would haue the like, then thinke that to be no cōmuns welth, but enuie to the cōmuns welth. Enuye it is to appaire an other mans estate, wythoute the amendement of your own. And to haue no geneilmē, bycause ye be none youre selues, is to brynge downe an estate, and to mende none. Would ye haue al a lyke rich? That is the ouer thorowe of laboure, and vtter decaye of worke in this realme. For who wil laboure more, if when he hath gotten more, the idell, shal dy luste wythout ryghte, take what hym lust from hym, vnder pretence of equalitie with hym. Thys is the bringinge in of Idlenes

dienes, whyche destroieth the cõmune welth and not the amendement of labour, that maytayneth the commune welth. If there should be such equalitie, then ye take all hope away from yõures, to come to anye better estate, then you nowe leue them. And as many meane mẽs childrẽ cõmeth honestly vp, so is greate succour to all their stocke, so shoulde none be hereafter holpen by you, but because ye seke equalitie, whereby all cannot be riche, ye woulde that by lyke, whereby euerye man should be poore. And thinke hyspde that ryches and inheritaunce be goddes prouidence, and gyuen to whom of hys wysdome he thynketh good. To the honeste for the encreace of theyr godlynes, to the wycked for the heapyng vp of their dãnacion, to the simple for a recompence of other lackes, to the wise for the greater setting out of gods goodnes. Why wil

youre

your wisedome nowe stoppe goddes wisdome, and prouide by your lawes that god shal not enrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh. God hath made the poore, and hath made them to be poore, that he myght shew his might, and set the a loft whē he listeth, for such cause as to him seemeth, and plucke downe the riche to this state of pouertie, to shew his power, as he disposeth to order them. Why do not we thē being poore bere it wisely, rather then by lust seke ryches vniustly, and shewe our selues contented with gods ordinaunce which we must other willingly obey, and then we be wyse, or els we muste vnprofitably striue withal, and then wee be mad.

☞ But what meane ye by this equalitie in ỹ cōmune welth? If one be wiser thē an other, wil ye banisshe him because ye entēd ā equaliti of al thiges.

ministres as he sayth himselfe but they despise him, and that presumption of challenginge goddes seate, dothe shewe you to haue bene Luciters, and sheweth vs that God wyll punyshe you lyke Luciters. Wherfore right ly looke as ye duely haue deserued, other great vengeaunce for your abhominable transgression, or els earnestly repent, with vnfained mindes, your wicked doinges, and other with example of deathe be contente to dehorte other, or els by faithfulnes of obedience declare howe great a seruice it is to God, to obey your magistrates faithfully, & to serue in subiection trulye. Well if ye had not thus greuously offended god, whome ye ought to worshyp, what can ye reasonablye thinke it to be no faute again ỹ king, whome ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by gods worde to obeye your kinge, & is it no breake of dutie to wi

stande

stand your kinge. If the seruaunt be bounde to obey his maister in the familie, is not ỹ subiecte bound to serue the kinge in his realme? The chyld is bounde to the priuate father, and bee we not al bound to the comune wealthes father? If we ought to bee subiecte to the kinge for Goddes cause, ought we not I pray you to be faithfully subiecte to the kinge? If wee ought dutifully to shewe al obedience to heathen kinges, shall we not wyllingly and truly be subiecte to christen kinges? If one ought to submit hym selfe by humilitie to an other, ought we not all by dutie to be subiecte to our kynge? If the members of our naturall bodie all followe the head, shall not the members of the politicall bodie all obey the kynge? If good maners be cõtent to giue place, the lower to the higher, shall not religion teache vs alway to geue place

and yet ye take the way cleane contrary to riches. Know ye not ꝑ he that exalteth him selfe, god wil throw downe? Howe can ye get it then, by thus setting out your selues? Ye should submit ye by humilitie one to an other, & ye set vp your selues aboue the magistrates. Se herein howe much ye offende god. Remembre ye not, that if ye come nighe to God, he wyll come nigh vnto you? If thē ye go frō god, he wyl go frome you. Doeth not the Psalme saie, he is holy with the holy, and wt the wicked mā he is froward. Euen as he is ordred of men he wyll ordre thē againe. If ye wold folowe his wyl, & obey his cōmaūdementes, ye shuld eate the fruites of ꝑ earth saieth ꝑ prophet, & not the swerd shall deuoure you. Ye might haue eatē the fruites of this seasonable yere, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against god, nowe not only ye can not

eate ꝑ which your selues did first sow bi labour, & now destrote bi sedition, but also if ꝑ kinges maiesties swoꝛde came not against you, as iust pollicie requireth, yet ꝑ iust vēgeance of god wold light among you, as his woꝛde pꝛomiseth, and your cruell wyckednes deserueth.

☞ Foꝛ what soeuer ꝑ causes be that hath moued your wild affectiōs here in, as thei be vniust causes & encrease your kautes muche, the thing it selfe, ꝑ rising I meane, must nedes be wicked and hoꝛrible afoꝛe god, & the vsurping of authoꝛitie, and taking in hande of rule, which is the sitting in gods seate of iustice, & a pꝛoude climinge vp in to goddes hyghe thꝛone, must nedes be not only cursed newly by him, but hath also bene often punished afoꝛe of him. And that which is done to gods officer, god accōpteth it done to him, foꝛ thei despise not the

If one be stronger then an other, will ye slay hym because ye seke an equalitie of all thinges? If one be wel fauored then an other, wyll ye punisshe hym because ye looke for an equalitie of all thynges? If one haue better vtteraunce then an other, wyll ye pul out his tonge to saue your equalitie? And if one be richer then an other, wyll ye spoyle hym to maintaine an equalitie? If one be elder then an other, wyl ye kyll hym for this equalities sake? Howe inuirious are ye to god himself e, who entendeth to bestowe his giftes as he himself e listeth, and ye seeke bi wicked insurrections, to make him geue them cõmunely alike to al men, as your vaine phansie liketh. Why would ye haue an equalitie in ryches, and in other gyftes of god there is no meane sought. Other by ambition ye seke lordlines, muche vnfitte for you, or by couetousnes ye

bee

be vnsatiable, a thing likely inoughe in ye, or els by folie ye be not content wyth your estate, a phãsy to be plucked out of you. But and we being wery of pouertie, would seke to enriche our selues, we should go a far other way to worke thẽ this, and so should we rightly come to our desire. Doth not Saincte Peter teache vs afore god a ryght waye to honour, to ryches, to all necessarie and profitable thynges for vs? He sayeth humble your selues, that God mighte exalte you, and caste all your care on hym, for he careth for you. He teacheth the waye to all good thinges, at goddes hande is, to be humble and you exalte your selues. Ye seke thinges after suche a sorte, as if the seruaunte should anger his maister, when he seketh to haue a good turne on hym. Ye wonld haue riches, I thinke at Goddes hand, who geueth al riches,

to the highest. If true subiectes wyll die gladly in ỹ kinges seruice, shoulde not al subiectes thinke it dutie to obei the kynge with iust seruice. But you haue not onlye disobeid like ill subiectes, but also taken stoutlie rule vpon you like wicked magistrates. Ye haue ben called to obedience, by counsell of priuate men, by thaduise of the kinges maiesties counsel, by the kinges maiesties free pardon, but what counsel taketh place, where sturdines is lawe, & churlishe answers be counted wysedome. Who can perswade where treason is aboue reason, and might ruleth ryght, and it is had for lawful what soeuer is lustful, and cõmotioners be better then commissioners, and cõmune wealth named commune wealth. Haue ye not broke his lawes, disobeied his counsel, rebelled against him? And what is ỹ cõmune wealth worth, when the lawe whiche

is

not hurt therby, and the infamie re-
turneth to the speaker againe, what
kynde of outragious and horrible
treason is it, to assemble in campe an
armie against him, and so not onlye
entende an ouerthrowe to him, & also
to his commune wealthe, but also
to cast him into an infamie throughe
all outwarde and straunge nations,
and perswade them that he is hated
of his people, whome he can not rule,
and that they be no better then vyl-
laines, which wyll not with good or-
ders be ruled. What death can be de
uised cruel inough for those rebelles,
who with trouble seeketh death, and
cā not quēche the thirst of their rebel-
lion, but with the bloud of true sub-
iectes, & hateth the kinges mercifull
pardō, when thei miserably haue trās
gressed, & in suche an outrage of mis-
chief, wyl not by stubburnes acknow
ledge them selues to haue fauted, but
enten-

should folow bi reasõ, but what your selues folow bi affectiõ. And is it not a daungerous & a cruel kinde of treasõ, so to geue out preceptes to the kinges people? Ther cã be no iust execution of lawes, reformation of fautes, geuing out of cõmaundementes, but frõ ẏ kinge. For in the king only is ẏ right hereof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appointmente to his ministers. Ye hauing no authoritie of the king, but taking it of your selues what thinke ye your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be the deuils ministers, for he is the author of seditiõ. The kinges maiestie entendeth to maintain peace, & to oppresse warre, ye stirre vp vprores of people, hurli burlies of vagabondes, routes of robbers, is this any parte of the kinges ministerie? If a vagabonde wolde do what him lust & cal him self your seruaũt, & execute such offices of

truste

trust, whether ye would or no, as ye haue cõmitted to an other mans credit, what wolde euery one of you saye or do herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wãder out of houses, ye make euery day newe matters as it pleaseth you, ye take in hande ỹ execution of those thinges, god by his word forbidding the same, which god hathe put ỹ magistrates in trust withal. What cã ye sai to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye tolde a priuate message in an other mans name, cã it be but a false lie I prai ye? And to tel a fained message to ỹ cõmune welth, & that frõ ỹ king, cã it be honest thinke ye? To cõmand, is more thẽ to speake, what is it then to cõmaund so traiterous a lie? This thẽ which is in word a deceitfull lye, & in dede a traiterous facte, noisome to ỹ cõmune welth, vnhonorable to ỹ king, mischeuous in you, how cã you otherwise iudge of it, but to be an vn

hard

them, their touche their ruler who seeketh profite on them. But ye that ought to be gouerned by your magistrate, as the heardes bi the heardmã, and ought to be lyke sheepe to your kyng, who ought to be lyke a shepeheardе vnto you, euen in ỹ tyme whẽ your profite was sought, & better redresse was entended, thẽ your vpstirres & vnquietnes could optain, haue beyond ỹ cruelte of al beastes foulie risin against your ruler, and shewed your selues worthy to be ordred lyke beastes, who in kinde of obediẽce wil fall frome the state of men. A dogge shoupeth when he is beatẽ of his master, not for lacke of stomacke, but for natural obedience, you being not stricken of your head, but fauored, not kept downe, but secoured, & remedied by lawe, haue violẽtly againste lawe not only barked like beastes, but also bitten like helhoũdes. What is the

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miſchief of ſedition, other not knowē
vnto you, or not feared. Haue not ex-
amples afore times both told the ende
of rebels, & the wickednes of rebellio-
n ſelf? But as for olde examples, let
thē paſſe for a while, as thinges well
to be conſidered, but at this preſēt one
thing more to be waied. Loke vpon
your ſelues, after ye haue wickedlye
ſtept into this horrible kinde of trea-
ſon, do ye not ſe howe many botōles
whirlepoles of miſchief ye be golpht
with all, & what lothſome kindes of
rebellio ye be faine to wade thorowe?
Ye haue ſent out in ỹ kinges name, a-
gainſt the kinges will, preceptes of al
kindes, and without cōmaundement,
cōmaunded his ſubiectes, & vnrulily
haue ruled, wher ye liſted to cōmaūd,
thinkinge your owne phanſies, the
kinges cōmaundemētes, and rebelles
laſtes in thinges to be right gouern-
mente of thinges, not lokinge what

ſhoulde

entendeth to broile the comune wealth with the flame of theyr treason, & asmuche as lyeth in them, not only to anoy them selues, but to destroie all other. He that is miscontented wt thinges that happeneth, & because he can not beare the miserie of them, renteth his hear, & teareth his skin, and mangleth his face, which easeth not his sorowe, but encreaseth his miserie, may he not be iustly called mad & phãtastical, & worthy whose wisedome should be suspected, and what shall we saye of thẽ, who being in ỹ cõmune welth, feling a soze greuous vnto them, and easy to haue ben amẽded, sought not the remedie, but hathe increased the grief, & like franticke beastes raging against their head, doth teare and deface asmuch as lieth in thẽ, his whole authozitie in gouernment & violẽtly taketh to thẽ selues that rule on thẽ, whiche he by pollicie hath graunted

vnto

vnto other. And who wayng wel the
heuines of the faute, may not iustlie
saye and hold, them to be worse here-
in the ani kinde of brute beastes. For
we se that the shepe wyl obey the shep
heard, & the nete be ruled by the nete-
heard, & the horse wyl knowe his kep-
per, & the dogge wyl be in awe of his
master, & euery one of them kepe there,
and of that, as his keper & ruler doth
appointe him, & goeth from thence, &
that, as he his forbidde by his ruler.
And yet we haue not hard of, that a-
ny heard or companie of these hath ri
sen against their heardman or gouer-
noure, but be alwaies contented not
only to obey them, but also to suffer
them to take profite of the. And we se
furthermore that al beardes & al sor-
tes, be more egre in fiersenes against
all kynde of straungers, then they be
againe their owne rulers, and wyl
easier offende him who hath not hurt
them

hardeof, and notable disobedience to the kynge, and therfore by notable example to be punished, and not wyth gentlenes of pardon to be forgeuen. Ye haue robbed euery honeste house, and spoiled them puiustly, and petiously wronge poore men beinge no offēders, to their vtter vndoinge, & yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kinges lawes. The kings maiesties law and his commaundement is, that euerie man shoulde safelye keepe his owne, and vse it reasonably to an honeste gaine of his liuinge. Ye violentlye take and carie away from men without cause, all thinges whereby they should maintaine, not onlie thē selues but also theyr familye, and leaue them so naked, that they shall feele the smarte of your cursed enterpryse, longer then your owne vnnaturall and vngodly stomackes woulde well vouchsafe. By iustice ye should

neyther

Ye haue robbed euery honest house and spoyled them vniustly, and petiously wrung poze men being no offēders to their vtter vndoyng, & yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kinges maiesties lawe & his comaundement is, that euery mā should safely kepe hys owne, & vse it reasonably to an honest gaine of hys liuing, ye violenly take & cary awaye frō men wout cause, al thinges wher by they should mayntayne not onely them selues, but also their family, and leaue thē so naked, that they shal fele the smart of your cursed enterprise, lōger then your owne vnnatural & vngodly stomakes woulde well vouchsafe. By iustice ye shuld nether hurte, noz wrōg man, & your pretensed cause of this monstrous stur is, to encreace mens welth, and yet howe many and say truth, haue ye decayed & vndone, by spoilig & takig away their goods? Howe should honest men liue quietly in the commune welth at anye time, if

theyr goodes other gotten by theyr own labour, or left to thē by theyr frē des, shal vnlawfully & vnorderly to the feadig of a sort of rebels be spoy- led and wasted, and vtterly snatched awaye. The thynge ye take is not your ryght, it is an other mans own, the maner of takyng against hys wil is vnlawful, and against the order of euery good commune welth, the cause whi ye take it, is mischeuous and hor rible to hat vp youre sedition, ye that take it wicked traitours, and cōmune enemies to all good order. If he that desireth an other mans goodes or ca- tail do faute, what doth he thinke ye, whose desier takyng foloweth, and is led to and fro by lust, as hys wycked phāsy void of reasō doth guide hym, he that vseth not his owne well and charitably, hath much to answere for, and shal they be thought not vniust, who not onely taketh awaye other mens but also misuseth and wasteth

the

the ſame vngodlye? They that take thynges priuily awaye and ſteale ſecretelye and couertlye other mennes goodes, be by lawe iudged worthye death, and ſhall they that wythoute ſhame ſpoyle thinges openlye, and be not afearde by impudence to profeſſe theyr ſpoile, be thought other honeſt creatures to GOD, or faythfull ſubiectes to their kinge, or naturall men to their countrey? If nothyng hadde moued you but the example of myſchiefe, and the fowle practiſe of other moued by the ſame, ye ſhuld yet haue abſtained from ſo licentious & ſo villanous a ſhewe of robbery, cõſidering howe many honeſter ther be, that beyng loth their wyckednes ſhoulde be blaſed abrod, yet be foũd out by prouidence, & hãged for deſert. What ſhall we thẽ thincke or ſay of ye? Shall we call you pyckers, or hidtheues, naye more thẽ theues, daytheues, herdſteleis, ſhireſpoilers, & vtter deſtroyers

of al kyndes of families both among the poore, and also amonge the riche. ☞ Let vs yet further se, is there no mo thinges wherin ye haue broken ỹ kinges lawes, and so vilie disobayed him contrary to your bonden dutie? Ye haue not only spoyled the kinges true subiects of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoed their bodies, which should be at libertie vnder the kyng, and restrained them of their seruice, whiche by dutie they owe the kynge, and apaired both strength and helth, wherwith they liue & serue the kinge. Is ther anye honest thinge more desired then libertie? Ye haue shamefully spoyled them thereof. Is ther anye thynge more duetyfull then to serue theyr Lorde and mayster? But as that was desiered of the one parte, so was it hindered and stopped on your parte. For neyther can the kynge be serued, nor kamplies kepte, nor the commune welthe loked vnto, where

fredom

fredome of libertie is stopped, and di-
ligence of seruice is hindred, and the
helpe of strength and health abated.
Mens bodies oughte to be fre from
all mens bondage and crueltye, and
only in this realme be subiect in pub-
like punishment to our publique go-
uernour, and nether be touched of hed
les captains, nor holden of brayneles
rebels. For the gouernemēt of so pre-
tious a thyng, ought to be long vnto
the most noble ruler, and not iustly to
be in euery mans power, which is iust
ly euerye liuinge mans treasure. For
what goodes be so dere to euery man
as his own body is, which is the true
vessel of the mynde, to be measurably
kept of euery mā, for al exercises and
seruices of the mind e. If ye may not
of your owne authoritie, meddle with
mens goodes, much lesse you maye of
your own authoritie take order with
mens bodies. For what be goodes in
cōparison of helth, libertie, strength,

which be al settled and kastened in the body. Thei ỹ strike other, do greatly offende & be iustly punishable, & shall they that cruelly and wrõgfully torment mens bodies wyth pyons & impysonmente, be thoughte not of other but of them selues honest and playne and true dealynge men? What shall we say by them, who in a priuate busines wyl let a man to go his iourney in the kynges hygh way, do they not thynke ye playne wronge? Then in a commune cause, not only to hynder them but also to deale cruellye wyth them, and shutte them from doynge their seruyce to the kynge, and theyr dutye to the commune welth, is it not both disobedience, and crueltye, and mischiefe thinke ye? What an hynderaunce is it to haue a good garmente hurte, any iewell appaired, or anye estemed thyng to be decaied, and seing no earthly thyng a manne hath more pretiouse then hys body, to cause it to

be

be cruely tormented wyth yrons, fe-
bled with could, weakned with ordē-
ring, cā it be thought any other thing
but wrong to the sufferer, crueltye in
the doer, and greate disobedience and
transgression to the kynge? Howe
then be ye able to defende, but seynge
ye so vnpitifullye vere menne, caste
them in prison, lade them with yrons,
pyne them with famine, contrarye to
the rule of nature, contrarye to the
kynges maiesties lawes, contrary to
goddes holye ordinaunces, hauynge
no matter, but pretensed and fayned
gloses, ye be not onely disobedient to
the kyng lyke rebelles, but withstan-
dyng the lawe of nature like beastes,
and so worthy to dye lyke dogges, ex
cept the kinges maiestie without res-
pect of your deseruing, do mercifully
graunt you of hys goodnes, that as
ye cannot escape by iustice.

☞Yet ye beynge not contente wyth
these as small thynges, enterpryse

greatter matters, and as thoughe ye
cold not satisfy your selfe, if ye should
leaue anye mychiefe vndone, haue
sought bloud with cruelte, and haue
slayne of the kynges true Subiectes
many, thynkynge theyr murdre to be
youre defens, when as ye haue encre-
sed the faulte of your vyle rebellion,
with the horrour of bloudeshed, & so
haue burdened myschiefe wyth mys-
chief, whyle it come to an importable
weight of mischife. What coulde ye
do more in the horribleste kind of fau-
tes, to the greatest traunsgressours &
offenders of God & men, then to loke
straightli on them by death, and so to
rid theym out of the cõmune welth by
seuere punishment, whom ye thought
vnworthy to liue amõg men for their
doinges? And those who hath not of-
fended the kynge, but defended hys
realme, and by obedience of seruyce
sought to punish the disobedient, and
for safegarde of euery mã put thẽ sel-
ues

ues vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserably and cruelly slaine, and bathed ye in their bloude, whose doinges ye shoulde haue folowed, and so haue appayred the commune welth, both by distruction of good men, & also by encreasing of rebels. And howe cã ỹ commune wealth by any meanes endure, wherein euerye man wythout authoritie, maye vnpunnyshed slea whom he lyste, and that in such cases as those who be slayne shewe theymselues moost noble of courage, and moste ready to serue the kynge and the commune welth, and those as ye slea, bee moste villanouse and traytorouse rebels, that ani commune welth did euer sustein. For a citie and a prouince be not the faire houses, and the strong walles, nor the dead defẽce of anye engins, but the liuing bodies of men, beinge able in nombre & strẽgth to mayntayne thẽ selues by good order of iustice, and to serue for al necessary

sary and behouable vses in the commune welth. And whē as mans body beyng a part of the whole commune welth, is wrongfullye touched anye way, and specially by death, then sufferyth the commune welth great iniurie, and that alwaye so much the more howe honester and nobler he is who is iniuriouslye murdered. Howe was the Lord Shefield handeled among you, a noble Gentilman and of good seruice, both fitte for counsel in peace and for cōduit in war. Considered ye other the grauitye of hys wysdom, or the authoritie of his persone, or hys seruice to the commune wealth, or the hope that all men had in hym, or the neede that Englande had of suche, or among many notablie good, hys singuler excellencie, or the fauoure of al men toward him, beyng loued of euerye man, and hated of no man? Considred ye who shoulde by dutye be the kinges subiectes, other how ye shold not

not haue offended the kynge, or after offence haue required the kinges pardon, or not to haue refused his goodnes offered, or at length to haue yelded to hys mercye, or not to haue slaine those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those who in dãger offered raunsom. But al these things forgotten by rage of bellion, because one madnes cãnot be without infinite vices, ye slewe hym cruelly, who offered hym selfe mãfully, nor would not spare for raunsome, who was worthy for nobelnes to haue had honor, and hewed hym bare, whom ye coulde not hurt armed, and by slauery slewe nobilitie, in dede miserably, in fashion cruellye, in cause deuylyshlye. Oh wyth what cruell spyte, was violenly sondered so noble a bodye frome so godlye a mynde? Whose death muste rather bee reuenged then lamented, whose death was no lacke to hym selfe but to his countrie, whose death

myght

might euery wayes bene better borne thē at a rebels hand. Violēce is in al thynges hurtful but in like horrible. What shoulde I speake of others in the same case, diuers & notable whose death for manhoode and seruice can want no worthye prayse, so longe as these ouggly stirrers of rebellio cā be had in mind. God hath hym selfe toyned mans bodye and hys soule togethet not to be departed a sōder, afore he eyther dissceuer theym hym selfe, or cause them to dissceuered by his minister. And shall rebels aud hedles campes, being armed against God, and in feld against ther king, thinke no faut to shed bloude of true subiectes, hauing neither office of god, nor appointment of ministers, nor iust cause of rebellion? If he ỹ stealeth any parte of a mās substaunce is worthy to lose his lyfe, what shall we thynke of theym, who spoyle men of ther lyues, for the maintenaunce wherof not onely substaunce

ſtaunce and riches be ſought for, but
alſo al commune wealthes be deuiſed
Nowe then if your owne conſcienees
ſhoulde be made your iudges, & none
other ſet to geue ſentence agaynſt ye,
ſeinge ye haue bene ſuch great bloud
ſhedders, ſo heinouſe manquellers, ſo
horible murderers, could ye do any o-
ther thē playnely confeſſe, your foule
& wicked rebellio, to be greuous aga-
inſt God, & trayterouſe to the kynge,
and hurtful to the commune wealth.
☞So manye greuouſe and horrible
faultes metyng together in one ſinke,
myght not onely haue diſcouraged,
but alſo driuen to deſperation any o-
ther honeſt or indifferent mynd. But
what kele they whoſe hartes ſo deepe
miſchiefe hath hardened, and by be-
hemēs of affection be made vnſham-
faſt, and ſtoppe al diſcourſe of reaſō,
to let at large the ful ſcope of their vn
meſurable madnes. Priuate meunes
gooddes ſemeth litle to your vnſatia
ble

ble desiers, ye haue waxed gredy now vpon Cytyes, and haue attempted myghtye spoiles to glutte vp and ye could your wasting hunger. Oh how much haue they nede of, that wyl neuer be contented, and what ryches cā suffice any that wyll atempt high enterprices aboue their estate? Ye could not maintaine your campes w̄ your priuate goodes, wyth your neybours portion, but ye must also attempt Cities, because ye sought great spoyles with other mens losses, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honestly with your own, & thought thē worthy death that would disquiete ye in your house, & plucke away that which ye by right of law thought to be your own. Herein se what ye would haue done. Spoyled the kynges maiesties subiectes, weakened ỹ kings strēgth, ouerthrowne his tounes, taken away his munitiō, drawen his subiectes to like rebelliō, ye & as it is amōg forein

enemies

enemies in sacking of cities, no doubt therof ye would haue falle to slaughter of men, rauishing of wiues, deflouryng of maides, chopping of childre, firing of houses, betingdoune of stretes, ouerthrowing of al togethet. For what measure haue me in ỹ encrease of madnes, whe thei cannot at the beginning stay the selues fro falling in to it. And if the besetting of one house to rob it, be iustly demed worthi deth, what shal we thinke of them that besiege whole cities for desire of spoile? We liue vnder a kyng to serue hym at all tymes when he shall nede our strength, and shall ye then not onely withdrawe your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also violently plucke other away to, fro that dutie vnto the which by goddes commaundement al subiectes be straightly boũd, & by all lawes euery nation is naturally led? The townes be not onely the ornament of the Realme, but also the seate of Marchauntes

chaũtes, the place of hãdycrafts, that men scattered in vyllages & neadyng diuers thinges, maye in lyttell rome knowe where to fynde ther lacke, To ouer throwe them thẽ is nothyng els but to wast youre owne cõmoditie so, that when ye would bye a necessarye thynge for money ye coulde not tell where to fynde it. Munition serueth the kyng not onely for the defence of hys owne, but also for the inuasion of hys enemye, and if ye wyll then so straightlie deale with him, that ye wil not let hym so much as defende hys owne, ye offer him double iniury, both that ye let him from doyng any notatable facte abrod, and also that ye suffer not quietly to enioy his owne at home. But herein hath notably appered, what cities hath faithfulli serued and suffered extreme danger, not onely of goodes but also of famyne and death, rather then to suffer the kings enemyes to enter, and what whytely-

uered

uerid Cities hath not onely not with ſtãde them but alſo with ſhame fauo red them, & with miſchiefe ayded thẽ. And I would I might prayſe herein all cities alike, whiche I woulde do, if all were lyke worthye, for then I might ſhew more fayth in ſubiectes, then ſtrẽgth in rebels, & teſtify to mẽ to come, what a generall faith euerie citie bare to ỹ kinges maieſty, whoſe age although it were not fit to rule, yet his ſubiectes heartes were wyl= linge to obeie, thinking not onely of his hope, which al men conceiue here after to be in him, but alſo of the iuſt kynd of gouernement, which in his minoritie his coũſail doth vſe amõg them. And here, how muche and how worthely may Exceter be cõmended, which being in ỹ middeſt of rebelles, vnuttailed, vnfurniſhed, vnprepared for ſo longe a ſiege, did noblie holde out the contnuall & daungerous aſ= ſault of the rebell. For they ſuſteined

the violence of the rebel, not onelie when they had plentie inough of vitaile, but also xi. or xii. daies after ỹ extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread were in corage so manful, and in duety so constante, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hõger, shewing truth to theyr kynge, and loue to their contrey, then to geue anie place to the rebell, and fauoure him with aide, although thei might haue done it with their lesse daunger. Whose example if Norwhich had folowed, and had not rather geuen place to traitorket, then to keepe theyr duetye, and had not sought more safegarde then honestye, and priuate hope more then commune quietnes, they had ended theyr rebellion soner, and escaped thẽselues better, and saued the losse of the worthy Lorde Sheffilde, in whõ was more true seruice for hys lyfe

then

then in them for theyr goodes. And although thys can not be spoken againste certeine honeste that were amongest them, whose prayse was the greater because they were so fewe, yet the greate noumber was suche that they not onely obeyed the rebell for feare, but also folowed him for loue, and did so traiterously order the kinges bãde vnder my Lord Marques, that they suffered more dammage oute of their houses by the townesmen, then they dyd abroade by the rebelles. Whose faute as the kynges maiestie maye pardon, so I wold ether the example might be forgottẽ, that no Citie might hereafter folow the lyke. or the dede so abhorred, that other hereafter would auoyde the lyke shame, and learne to be noble by Exceter, whose truth doth not onely deserue longe prayses, but also great rewarde.

Who then that would willingli de-
fende ye, can ſaye any thinge for ye,
whiche haue ſo diuerſelie fauted, ſo
trayteronſly offended, not onelye a-
gaynſt priuate men ſeuerally, but al-
ſo generally againſte whole tounes,
and that after ſuche a ſorte, as oute-
warde enemies full of deadlie foode,
coulde not more cruelly inuade thē.
And thus the kinges maieſty diſho-
nored, his counſel diſobeied, the goo-
des of the pore ſpoyled, the houſes of
the wealthy ſacked, honeſt mens bo-
dies enpriſoned, worthy mens perſo-
nages ſlaine, cities beſieged & threat
ned, and all kinde of thinges diſorde
red, can ye without teares and repen-
taunce here ſpokē of, which without
honeſtie and godlines ye practiſed, &
not kinde in your hartes nowe to re-
tourne to dutie, which by witchcraft
of ſedicion, were drouned in diſorde.
Haue ye not in diſorde firſt greuouſ
lie offended God, nexte trayterouſlie

riſen

tisen against your kinge, and so nother worthy euerlasting life, as long as ye so remaine, nor yet ciuile lyke, being in sache a breache of commune quietnes. If euery one of these cannot by them selues, plucke you backe from this your leude & outragious enterprises, yet let all together stirre ye, or at leaste be a fearfull example to other, to beware by your vnmeasurable foly, howe they do so farre prouoke God, or offende man, and finde by your mistemper to be them selues better ordred, and learne styl to obey bicause they woulde not repente, and so to lyue with honesty, ỹ they would nother willingly offend Gods lawe, nor disobey mans.

☞ But and ye were so muche blered that you dyd thinke impossible thinges, & your reason gaue ye againste all reason, that ye nother displeased God herein, nor offended the kynge, yet ye be so blynde that ye vnderstād

not your owne case, nor your neighboures miserye, nor the ruine of the whole commune welthe, which doth euidently folowe, your so foule & detestable sedition. Do ye not see howe for the maintenaunce, of these vngodly rablementes, not only Cities and villages, but also Shieres and contres be vtterli destroied. Is not their corne wasted, their cattell fet a waye, their houses rifled, their goodes spoiled, and all to feede your vprisinge without reason, and to maintein this tumulte of rebellion inuented of the Deuill, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hande. And whie should not so hurtfull wasting and heerting of contretes, be iustelye punished with greate seueritie, seinge robbinge of howses, and taking of purses, do by lawe deserue thextremitie of death. Howe manie suffer iniurie when one hundred of a Shiere is spoiled, and

what

what iniurie thinke ye is done when not only whole Shieres be destroyed, but also euerie quarter of the Realme touched. Haue ye not brought vpon vs all pouertie, weakenes, and hatered within the Realme, and discourage, shame, and dammage without the Realme? If ye miserably entended not onelye to vndo other, but also to destroie your selues, and to ouerthrowe the whole Realme, could ye haue taken a redier waye to your owne ruine then this is? And firste if ye be any thinge reasonable, lifte vp your reason, and wei by wisedome, if not all thinges, yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginninge of matters to forsee the ende, & so iudge aduisedly, or ye entēr into any thinge hastelye. See ye not this yeare the losse of herueste? And thinke ye, ye can growe to wealthe that yere when ye loose youre thryfte and profite?

Barnes be poore mens storehouses, wherin lieth a greate parte of euerie mans owne liuing, his wifes & hys childrēs liuing, wherwith men maintaine their families, pay their rentes, and therfore (bee alwayes thoughte most ryche when they haue best croppes. And nowe when there is nother plentie of hai, nor sufficient of straw, nor corne inough, & that through the great disorder of your wycked rebellio, can ye thinke ye to do wel, whē ye vndo your selues, and iudge it a cōmune wealth, when the cōmunes is destroyed, & leake your hap by vnhappines, & esteme your owne losse to bee your owne forwardnes, and by thys iudgement shew your selues howe litle ye vnderstand other mens matters, whē ye can scasely consider the waighties of your owne. Hathe not the haye this yere, as it rose fro the ground, so rotted to the grounde agayne, and where it was wonte by

mens

mens seasonable laboure to be taken in due tyme, and thē serue for ẏ main tenaunce of horse and cattel, wherewith we lyue, nowe by your disordered myschief, hath ben by mens idelnes and vndutifulnes, let alone vntouched, & so neyther seruith the pore to make money of, nor any cattell to liue with. The corne was sowne wlabour, & the ground tilled for it with labour, & loked to be brought home againe with labour, & for lacke of honest labourers is lost on the ground, the owners being loiterers, & seking other mens haue lost their owne, and hoping for mountaines, lacked their present thrift, neither obteining that they sought nor seking ẏ they ought. And howe shall men lyue when the mayntenaunce of theyr prouision is lacking? For laboring and theyr old store is wasted by wildnes of seditiō, and so neyther spare tholde, nor saue the newe. Howe can menne be fed thē

or beastes liue, when as suche wastefull negligence is miserablye vsed, & mispending the time of their profite, in shameful disorder of inobedience, care not greatly what becommes of theyr owne, because they entende to liue by other mennes. Haye is gone, corne is wasted, strawe is spoiled, what rekeninge of herueste canne ye make, other for thaide of others, or for the relief of your selues? And thus haue ye brought in one kinde of miserie, which if ye sawe before, as ye bee lyke to feele after, although ye had hated the comune wealth, yet for loue of youre selues ye woulde haue auoided ỹ great enormitie therof, into the whiche ye wilfully nowe haue caste in your selues.

☞ In other no lesse is, that suche plẽtie of vitaile, as was aboundauntly in euerie quarter for the releefe of vs all, is nowe al wastfully and vnthrifftfully spente, in maintening you vnlawefull

lawfull rebelles, and so wyth disor-
der all is consumed, whiche wyth
good husbondrie, might longe haue
endured. For so muche as woulde
haue serued a whole yere at home,
wyth diligente and skilfull heede of
husbandrye, that is wylfully wasted
in a moneth in the campe, throughe
the rauening spoyle of villainie. For
what is vnordred plentie, but a wast
full spoyle, wherof thinconuenience
is so greate, as ye be worthy to feele,
and bringeth in more hardenesse of
liuinge, greater dearth of al thing, &
occasioneth mani causes of diseases.
The price of thinges must nedes en
crease muche, whē the nomber of thin
ges wareth lesse, and by scarsitie be
enhaunsed, & cōpelleth men to abate
their liberalitie in house, both to their
owne, and also to straungers. And
where ỹ riche wāteth, what can ỹ po-
re fynd, who in a comune scarsitie, ly-
ueth most scarsely, & feleth quickest

the

the ſharpnes of ſtaruing, when euery man for lacke is hongerbitten, which if ye had wel remẽbred before, as ye nowe maye after perceyue, ye would not I thinke ſo ſtifneckedlie haue reſiſted, and endaungered your ſelfe in the ſtorme of famine, where of ye moſt lickely muſt haue the greateſt parte, whiche moſt ſtubburnly reſiſted, to your owne ſhame and confuſion. Experience teacheth vs that after a greate dearthe cõmeth a greate death, for that when men in greate want of meate eateth much il meat, they fyll theyr bodies wyth ill humors, & caſteth them from theyr ſtate of health into a ſubiectiõ of ſicknes, bycauſe the good bloud in the bodie is not able to keepe his temper, for ỹ multitude of the yll humors that corrupteth theſame. And ſo growe great & deadly plages, and deſtroie greate noumbres of all ſortes, ſparing no kinde that they light on, no-

tiher

nother respecting the poze with mer-
cie, noz the riche with fauour. Can ye
therfoze thinke herein, when ye se de-
caye of vitailes, the ryche pinche, the
pooze famishe, the folowinge of diſ-
eases, the greatenes of deathe, the
mourning of widowes, ỹ pitefulnes
of the fatherles, and all this miserie
to come thozowe your vnnaturall
misbehaueour, that ye haue not dañ-
gerously hurt ỹ comunes of your cō-
trei with a doleful and an vncurable
wounde?

These thinges being once felte in
the comune wealth, as they must ne-
des be, euery man seith by & by what
followeth, a great diminishmēt of the
strength of the realme, when the due
nomber that the realme doeth main-
taine is made lesse, and therby we be
made rather a pray foz our enemies,
then a safetie foz our selfe. And howe
can there be but a great decay of peo
ple at the length, when some be ouer-

thzowen

throwen in warre, ſome ſuffer for pu-
nyſhemente, ſome pine for famine,
ſome die wyth the campes diet, ſome
be conſumed wyth ſickeneſſe. For al-
though ye thinke your ſelues able to
matche wyth a fewe vnprepared gen
tlemen, and put them from theyr hou
ſes, that ye myght gaine the ſpoyle,
doo ye iudge therefore youre ſelues
ſtronge inoughe, not onely to with-
ſtande a kynges power, but alſo to
ouerthrowe it? Is it poſſible that ye
ſhoulde haue ſo madde a phrenſye in
your head, that ye ſhould thinke the
nomber ye ſe ſo gronge, that all ye ſee
not, ſhould not be able to preuaile to
the contrarye? Wyth what rea-
ſon coulde ye thinke that if ye bode
the hoate brunte of battayle, but ye
muſt needes feele the ſmarte, ſpecial-
ly the kynges power comminge a-
gaynſt you, which if ye feare not, be-
lyke ye knowe not the force thereof.

And

And so muche the greater nomber is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed be partes, although vnlyke of one realme, and what losse is not onely of either syde, but of both, that dothe playnlye redoune to the whole. Then where so great and so horrible a faute is committed, as worse can not bee mentioned of frome the beginninge, and bringeth in withall suche penurie, suche weakenes, suche disordre in the comune wealth, as no mischiefe beside coulde do the like, can any mã thynke with iuste reason that al shal escape vnpunished, that shall escape the sweord, and not mani for terrour, and examples sake should be looked vnto, who hath bene other great doers in suche a disordred villainie, or greate counsellors to suche an outegrowen mischiefe? Seinge thonly remedie of redressing wilfull fautes is a iust & a seuere punishment of suche

whose

whose naughtie deedes good menne oughte to abhorre for duties sake, & ill men maye dreade for lyke ponishementes sake, and a free licence to be mischiefe vnpunished is so daungerous that the sufferaunce of one, is thoccasion of the faule of a great nõber, and womannishe pitie to one, is is a deceitful crueltie to the whole, in tising them to their owne destruction bi sufferaũce, which wold haue auoided the daunger by forponyshmẽt. ☞ And in such a barenes of vitaile, as muste needes come after so rauening a spoile, it must nedes be ẏ some thoughe fewe, shall be so nipte with egernes of famine, that they shal not recouer againe them selues out of so greatinge a daunger. So in a generall weakenes, where all shall be febled, some must nedes dye and so dimmishe the nomber and abate suche strength as the Realme defended it selfe withal afore. Whiche occasiõ of

euer

so fewe comming of so great a cause if ye should make iuste amendes for, not of recõpence which ye could not, but of punishement which ye ought, howe manie, howe diuerse, and howe cruell deathes ought euery one of ye often to suffer? Howe manie came to the campes from longe labour to sodaine ease, and frome meane fare to stroiyng of vitaile, and so fel in a maner vnwares to suche a contrarye chaũge, that nature her selfe abiding neuer great & sodaine chaunges, can not beare it without some groundes entred of dilleases to come, whiche vncircumspecte men shall soner feele thẽ thinke of & then wil scasely iudge the cause, when they shall be vexed with the effecte. It is litle maruelle that idlenes & meat of an other mannes charge wyl sone feede vp and fat lykely men, but it is greate meruaile if idlenes and other mens meate do not abate thesame vi sicknes againe,

and ſpecially comming from the one and goinge to the other contrary in thoſe, who violently ſeeke to turne in a moment thole realme to the contrary. For while their minde chaungeth from obedience to vntrulines, and turneth it ſelfe from honeſty to wildnes, and their bodies go frome labour to idlenes, from ſmale fare to ſpoile of vitaile, and from beddes in the night to cabins, from ſwete houſes to ſtinking campes, it muſte nedes bee by chaunging of affections which alter the body, & by vſinge of reſt ꝑ filleth the body, and gluttinge of meates which weakeneth the bodie, and with colde in the nightes which acraſeth the bodie, & wyth corrupt ayer which infecteth the bodie, that there kolowe ſome greuous tempeſt, not onli of contagious ſickenes, but alſo of preſent deathe to the bodie. The greateſte plucke of all, is that behemence of plage, which naturally koloweth the

dinte of honger, whiche when it entreth once amonge men, what dartes of panges, what throwes of paines, what shoutes of death doeth it caste oute, howe manie fall, not astonied wyth the syckenes, but treated with the paine, how beateth it douns not onli smale townes but also great contreis. This when ye se lyght first on your beastes, which lacketh fodder, and after fall on men, whose bodies gapeth for it, and see the scarsenesse of men to be, by this your foule enterprise, and not only other menne touched with plages, but also your owne house stonge with death, and the plage also rayled of your tilinge to fyre your selues, can ye thinke to be ani other but mãquellers of other, and murderers of your selues, and the principalles of thouerthrowe of so greate a nomber, as shall other by sweard or ponyshent, famine or seme

plage or pestilence, be consumed and wasted out of the commune wealthe. And seinge he that decateth the nombet of cotages, or plowes in a toune, semeth to be an enemie to the comune wealth, shall we not compte him, not onely an enemie but also a murderer of his contrey, who by harebrained vnrulines causeth the vtter rume, & pestilent destructiō of so many thousande men. Graunte this folye then & ouersyght, to be suche as worthely ye may compt it, and I shall go further in declaring of other greate inconueniences, whiche your daungerouse & furiouse misbehaueoure, hath hurtefully brought in. Seing diuerse honest and true dealing men, whose lyuing is bi their owne prouision, hath come so aforehande by tyme, that they haue bene able well, to liue honestly in their houses, and paye besides the rentes of their farmes truli haue by your crueltie and abhorred

insur-

insurrections lost their goodes, their cattail, their herueſt, which they had gotten before, and wherwith they entended to liue hereafter, thei be brought to this extremitie, that thei be neither able to liue as they were wonte at home afore, nor to pate their accuſtomable rente at their due time. Wherby they be brought into trouble & vnquietnes, not only muſinge what they haue loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whome they haue loſt it, and alſo in daunger of loſing their holdes at their Lordes handes, excepte by pitie they ſhewe more mercye then the ryghte of the lawe wyll graunt by iuſtice. And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labour truelye in youth, and to gaine painfully by labour, wherewith to liue honeſtli in age, and to haue this gotten in longe time to be ſodainlye raught awaye by the violence of ſeditiō, whiche name he oughte to abhorre bi it

selfe although no miserie of losse followed to him therbi. But what greater griefe ought seditious rebelles to haue them selues, who if they be not stricken with punishment, yet ought to pyne in conscience and melte away with the griefe of their owne fautes, when they se innocētes & men of true seruice hindered & burdened with the hurte of theyr rebellion, and who in a good comune wealth should for honesties sake prospere, they by these rebelles onelie meanes be caste so behinde ẏ hand, as thei can not recouer easely agayne by theyr owne truthe, that as they haue loste by those traytours mischiefe. And if vniuste men ought not so to bee handled at anye mannes handes but onely stande to the order of a lawe, how muche more shoulde true and faithfull subiectes, who deserue prayse feele no vnquietnes, nor be vexed with seditiō, who be obedientlye in subiection, but rather

ther seeke iuste amendes at false rebelles handes, and by lawe obteine that they lost by disorder, and so constraine you to thuttermoste, to paye the recompence of wrongfull losses, because ye were the authors of these wrongefull spoyles. Then woulde ye sone perceiue ỹ comune wealthes hurte, not when other felte it who deserued it not, but when you smarted who caused it, & stode not and looked vpon other mennes losses, whiche ye might pitie, but tormẽted with your owne which ye would lamente. Now I am past this mischiefe, which ye wil not hereafter deny, whẽ ye shal praise other mens foresight, rather thẽ your wicked doinges, in bewailing thende of your furye in whose beginning ye now reioyse. What say ye to ỹ nũbre of vagabõdes & loitrig beggers whi che after ỹ ouerthrow of your cãpe & scatering of this seditious nõbre, wil swarme in euery corner of the realme,

and not only lie loytering vnder hed
ges, but also stande sturdeli in cities,
and begge boldly at euery doze, lea-
uing labour which they like not, and
folowing idlenes which they should
not. For euery man is easely and na-
turally brought, from labor to ease,
frome the better to the worse, frome
diligence to slouthfulnes, and after
warres it is communelye sene, that a
great nomber of those which wente
out honest, returne home againe like
roisters & as though thei were burnt
to the warres botome, they haue all
their lyfe after an vnsauery smacke
therof, and smel stil towarde daiesle-
pers, pursepikers, highwaie robbers
quarelmakers, ye & bloudsheders to.
Do we not se cõmunely in thende of
warres moze robbing, moze begging
moze murdering then befoze, & those
to stand in the high wai to aske their
almes whom ye be afraied to say nai
vnto honestly, lest they take it awaie
from

frome you violently, and haue more cause to suspecte their strength, then pitie their nede. Is it not then daily heard, howe men be not only pursued, but vtterly spoiled, and fewe maintide sake by the kinges waie, excepte they ryde stronge, not so muche for feare of their goodes, which menne estem: lesse, but also for daunger of their life whiche euery man loueth. Worke is vndone at home, and loiterers linger in stretes, lurk in ale houses, range in highwaies, valiaunte beggers play in tounes, and yet complaine of neede, whose staffe if it be once hoat in their hande, or sluggishnes bred in their bosome, thei wil neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting them selues better with idle beggary, then with honest and profitable labour. And what more noisom beastes be in a comune wealth? Drawnes in hiues sucke oute the honie, a smal matter, but yet to be loked on b

goo

good houſbōdes, caterpillers deſtroy the fruite, an hurtefull thynge and well ſhyfted for, by a diligente ouerſeer. Diuerſe vermine deſtroye corne, kyll polleine, enginnes and ſnares be made for thē. But what is a lopte for, a ſucker of honie, a ſpoyler of corne, a deſtroyer of fruite? Naye a waſter of money, a ſpoyler of vitaile, a ſucker of bloud, a breker of orders, a ſeeker of brekes, a queller of life, a baſiliſke of the commune wealthe, whi che by companie and ſyght doth poy ſon the whole contrey, and ſtaineth honeſte mindes with the in fection of his venime, and ſo draweth the commune wealthe to deathe and deſtructiō. Such is the fruites of your labour, and trauaile for your preten ſed commune wealthe, whiche iuſtice wolde no mā ſhould taſt of but your ſelues, that ye myght truelye iudge of your owne miſchiefe, and fraye o= ther by example frome preſumynge

the

the lyke. When wee se a great nom-
ber of flyes in a yere, wee naturallye
iudge lyke to bee a greate plage, and
hauing so great a swarming of loy-
tering vagabondes, readie to begge
and braule at euery mannes dooze,
which declare a greater infection, can
wee not looke foz a greuouser and pe
rilouser daunger then the plage is?
Who can therfoze otherwyse deame,
but thys one deadlye hurte, where-
with the comune wealthe of oure na-
tion is wounded, besyde all other is
so pestilent, that there can be no moze
hurtefull thinge, in a well gouerned
state, noz moze throwen in to all kind
of vyce, and vnrulinesse, and there-
foze this your sedition not only most
odious, but also moste horrible, that
haue spotted the whole contrey, with
suche a staine of idelnes.

☞ There can be none end of fautes,
if a mā reherse al fautes, ỹ do necessa-
rilye folowe this vnruly sturdines.

Foz

For not only vagabũdes wandring and seatering the selues for mischief, shall runne in a mans eies, but also disorder of euerie degre, shall entre in into a mans minde, and shal behold hereby the comune wealth miserably defaced by you, who should aswoche as other haue kept your selues in order in it. Nother is the magestrates duely obeied, nor the lawes iustly feared, nor degrees of men considered, nor maysters wel serued, nor parẽtes truly reuerenced, nor Lordes remembred of their tenauntes, nor yet other naturall, or Ciuile Lawe muche regarded. And it is plainly vnpossible that that contrey shall well stande in gouernemẽt, and the people grow to wealth, where order in euery state, is not fitly obserued, and that bodie can not bee with out muche griefe of inflamation, where ony least parte is oute of ioynte, or not duely set in his owne natural place. Wherfore order

must be kept in the comune wealthe lyke healthe in the bodye, and al the drifte of pollicie loketh to this ende, howe this temper mai be safely maintained, without any excesse of vnmeasurablenes, other of thone syde or of thother. And easye inoughe it is to kepe thesame, whē it is once brought in to the meane, and to holde it in ȳ staye it is founde in, but when it burſteth out once with a vehemence, and hath gotten into an vnrulie disorder, it spredeth so fast, and ouerfloweth al honeste mens resistinge so violently, that it will be harde to recouer the breche of longe time againe, excepte with greate and wise counsell (which no doubte shal be in season vsed) ther be wonderful remedies sought therefore. And euen as a man fallinge is easier holden vp by staye, then when he is fallen doune he is able to ryse againe, so is the comune wealth slippinge, by the foresight of wisedome,

bette-

better kepte frome ruine, then when it is once fallen in to any kinde of misery the same may be called againe to the olde and former state. Do we not euidently know, that a man mai better kepe his arme or his legge frome breaking or fallynge out of ioynt, afore hurt come to it, then after ỹ hurt it may safely & quietly be healed, and restored to ỹ former strength & health again. And nowe thorow your seditious meanes, things ỹ were afore quiete & in good order, lawes feared & obeied, subiectes ruled & kept in dueti, be al now in a great disorder, & like if it be not holpē to growe to wildnes, & a beastlines, seinge ỹ neither comune dutie cā be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor comune law cā be regarded which pollicie requireth. How can ye kepe your owne if ye kepe no order, your wife & childrē how cā they be defended from other mens violence, if ye wil in other thinges breake al order

der, by what reason, would ye be obeied of yours as seruauntes, if ye wyll not obey the king as subiectes, how woulde ye haue others deale orderly with you, if ye wyll vse disorder against all others. Seinge then there is suche a confusion now of thinges, such a turmoile of men, suche a disorder of fashions, who can loke to liue quietly a great whyle, who cā thinke but ỹ ye haue miserably tossed ỹ commune wealth, & so vexed al men w̄ disorder, ỹ thincōuenience herof, can not only nip others, but also touch you. ☞ But now see howe that not onely these vnloked for mischiefs haue heauily growē on ye, but also those commodities, whiche ye thought to haue holpen your selues and others by, be not onely hindered, but also hurt ther by. The kynges maiestie by thaduise. et cet. entended a iuste reformation of all suche thynges as poore men coulde truely shewe them selues

oppressed

oppressed with thinking equalitie of iustice, to be the diademe of his kingdome, and the safegard of his comunes. Which was not only entēded bi wisedom, but also set on with spede, and so entred into a due considering of all states, that none should haue iust cause to grudge against thother, when as euery thinge rightfully had, nothinge could be but vnrightfullie grudged at. And this woulde haue ben done, not onely with your glad & willing assente, but also ben done by this daye almoste throwe out the whole realme, so that quietly it had bene obteined without incōuenience, and spedely, without delay. And what soeuer had bene done bi the kinges maiesties authoritie, that would by right haue remained for euer, & so taken in lawe, that the contrary partie, neither could by iustice, neither wold bi boldnes, haue enterprised ȳ breake thereof. But leste wicked men should

be

be wealthy, and they whose hartes be not truly bent to obedience, shoulde obteine at the kinges hand that thei deserued not in a commune wealth, ye haue merueilously and wortheli hurt your selues, & graciousli prouided, except the kinges goodnes be more vnto you then your owne desertes can claime, ỹ ye be not so muche worthye as to bee benefited in ani kinde, as ye be worthy to lose that ye haue on euerie side. Ye haue thought good to be your owne reformers by lyke, not only vnnaturally mistrusting the kinges iustice, but also cruelly and vnciuilely dealing vp your owne neighbours. Wherin I wolde as ye haue hurte the whole realme, so ye had not enterprised a thinge moste daungerous to your selues, and moste contrary to the thinge ye entended. If ye had let thinges alone thought good by your selues to be redressed, and diligently loked for the perfourmaunce

of ỹ the kinges maieſtie promiſed re-
formation, they ſhould not haue bene
vndone at this tyme, as in a greate
ſort of honeſt places thei be, nor thoſe
contreis who for their quietnes bee
moſte worthi to be loked on, ſhoulde
haue ben vnprouided for at this dai.
But this cõmoditie hath happened
by the waye that it is euidẽtly know
en, by your miſchief, and others duty,
who be moſt true to the kinge, & moſt
worthye to bee done for, and who bee
moſt pernitious & traiterous rebels.
And it is not to be douted, but they
ſhal be conſidered with thankes, and
fynde iuſte redreſſe, without deſerued
miſery, and you puniſhed like rebels,
who might haue had both praiſe and
profite like ſubiectes. For that as ye
haue valiauntly done of your ſelues,
thinke ye it wyll ſtande any longer,
then men feare your rage, whiche can
not endure longe, and that ye ſhall
not then byde the rigor of the lawe

for

for your priuate iniuries, as ye vsed the furye of your braynes in other mens oppressions. Wyll men suffer wronge at your handes whē law can redresse and the right of the comune wealth wyll maintayne it, and good order in contreis wyll beare it? Ye amende fautes as yll surgions heale soores, which when they seme to bee whole aboue thei rankle at ỹ botome and so be faine continuallt to be sore, or els be mēded by new breaking of the skynne. Your redresse semeth to you perfite and good, ye haue pulled doune suche thinges as ye would, ye thinke now all is well, ye cōsider no farther, ye seke not ỹ botome, ye se not the sore, ỹ ye haue done it by no lawe, ye haue redressed it by no order, what thē? If it be none otherwaies serched thē bi you, it wil not tary lōg so, other it wil be after cōtinually as it was afore your comming, or els it must be whē all is done amēded by the king.

Thus haue ye both lacked in ꝑ time, and misse in the doing, & yet besides that ye haue done whiche is by your doyng to no purpose, ye haue done ꝑ thinges with suche incõueniences as hath bene bothe before rehearsed and shall bee after declared, that better it had bene for you neuer to enioyed the cõmoditie if there be any, then to suffer the griefes ꝑ will ensue, which be very many. In euery quarter some men whom ye set by wil be lost, whiche euerye one of you if ye haue loue in ye, would rather haue lacked the profite of your enclosures, then cause suche destruction of them, as if lyke by reason and iudgement necessarily to folowe. What comune wealth is then, to do suche abhominable enterprises after so vile a sorte that ye hinder that good ye woulde do, & bringe in that hurte ye woulde not, and so finde that ye seke not, and folow that ye loose, and destroye your selfes by

folly, rather then ye would be ordred by reason, and so haue not so muche amended your olde sores, as brought in newe plages, which ye your selues that deserue them wil lament, & wee which haue not deserued them maye curse you for. For although the kinges maiestie. &c. entended for your profites a reformatiō in his comune wealth, yet his pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie subiect shoulde busilye intermedle with it of their owne head, but onlie those whō his counsel thought moste mete men for suche an honest purpose. The kinges maiestie, &c. hath godly reformed an vncleane parte of religion, & hath brought it to ỹ true forme of the first churche that folowed Christe, thinking that to be the trueste, not what later mens phanties hath of them selues deuised, but what thapostles and their felowes had at Christes hande receiued, and willeth the same to be

knowen and set abrode to al his people. Shal euery man now that listeth, & phansieth the same take in hand vncalled to be a minister, and to set forth the same hauing no authoritie? Nay thoughe the thinge were very godlie that were done, yet the person must needes do yl that enterpriseth it, because he doth a good thing after an il sort, and loketh but on a litle parte of dutie considering the thinge, & leaueth a great parte vnaduised, not considering the person, whē as in a wel and iustly done matter, not onlie these .ii. thinges ought well to be weied, but also good occasion of time, and reasonable cause of the doinge ought also much to be set afore euery doers eies. Nowe in this youre deede the maner is vngodlye, the thinge vnsufferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the tyme trayterous, and can ye possibly by any honeste defence of reason, or any good conscience religiously

giously grounded dente that this ma
litious & horrible faute, so wickedly
set on is not only sinfull afore god, &
traiterous to the king, but also dead
ly and pestilent to the whole comune
wealth of our contrey, & so not only o
uerflow vs wt the miserie, but also o-
uerwhelme you wt the rage therof.
☞ Yet further se, and ye be not wery
with the multitude of miseries whi-
che ye haue merueilously moued,
what a pooke ye wilfully do bringe
on your selues, in stirring vp this de
testable sedition, and so bringe your
selues in to a further slauery, if ye vse
your selues often thus inobediently.
When commune order of the lawe
can take no place in vnruly and diso-
bedient subiectes, and all men wyl of
wylfulnesse resiste wyth rage, and
thynke theyr owne violence to be the
beste iustice, then be wyse magistra-
tes compelled by necessitie, to seke an
extreme remedie, where meane salues

helpe not, and bringe in the Martial lawe, where none other lawe seruith. Then muste ye be contented to byde punishment without processe, condēnation without witnesse, suspition is then taken for iudgement, and displeasure may be iust cause of your execution, and so withoute fauoure ye finde straitenes, which without rule seeke violence. Ye thinke it a harde lawe and an vnsufferable. It is so in deede, but yet good for a medicine. Desperat sicknesses in phisicke must haue desperate remedies, for meane medicines, wyll neuer helpe greate griefs. So if ye caste your selues into suche sharpe diseases, ye must needes loke for sharpe medicines againe at your phisitions handes. And wor thy ye be to suffer therextremitie in a co mune wealth, which seeke to do therextremitie, and by reason, muste receiue the lyke ye offer, and so be contented to byde the ende willingly, which set

on the beginninge wilfullye. For no greater shame can come to ỹ comune wealth, then that those subiectes, whi che should be obedient euen without a lawe, can not be contented to be ordred by the lawe, and by no meanes kept within their dutie, which should euery way offend rather then in their dutie. It is a tokē that the subiectes lacke reason, when they forsake lawe, and thinke other by their multitude to finde pardon, which can not iustly stretch to al, or els bi strēgth to beare the strocke, which can not prospere a gainst a kinge. They must nedes litle considre them selues, who bringe in this necessitie, rather to stande to the pleasure of a mans will, then to a byde the reason of the lawe, and to be endaungered more whē an other mā lysteth, then when himselfe offendeth. And this muste necessarily folowe if your rebellion thus contimue, & while ye seeke to throwe downe the yoke

which

which ye phanſie your ſelues burde-
ned withal, ye bringe your ſelues in
a greater bondage, leauing ſafetie &
folowinge daunger, and puttinge
your ſelues vnder the iuſtice of them
whoſe fauoure ye might eaſelye haue
kept, if ye would willingly & dutiful
ly haue ſerued. Now ỹ gentlemen be
more in truſt becauſe the commines be
vntruſty, & thei gat by ſeruice which
ye loſe bi ſtobburnes, & therfore muſt
nedes if ye thus continue, haue more
authoritie from the kyng, becauſe ye
would be in leſſe ſubiectiõ to ỹ king,
and ỹ as ye wil not do of your ſelues
ye muſte be cõpelled to do by others,
and ỹ ye refuſe to do willingly, think
ye muſt be drawen to do ỹ ſame con-
ſtrainedly. Which when it cõmeth to
paſſe, as wiſedome ſeeth in your fau-
tes ỹ it muſt nedes, what gain ye thẽ,
or what profite cã ariſe to you by ry-
ſing, which might haue found caſe in
ſitting ſtil, & what ſhal ye be at lẽgth

the

the better for this turmoile, which be side diuers other incōmodities reher sed, shall be thus clogged wt the vnsufferable burdē of ye Martial lawe. ☞ Yet is there one thinge behinde which me thinketh your selues shuld not forget, seing ye ye haue geuē ye cause, ye should duli loke for theffect. Ye haue spoiled, enprisoned, & threatened gentlemen to death, & that with such hatered of minde, as may not well be borne, ye cause therof I speke not on, which tried wil happeli be not so greate, but se ye thinge, set murder a syde whiche is ye heinosest faute to a priuate mā. What could more spitefulli haue ben done again thē thē ye haue vsed wt crueltie? Can this do any other but brede in their stomakes gret grudge of displeasure toward you, & engēdre suche an hatered as the weaker & the fufferer, muste nedes beare ye smart therof. The kinges best kind of gouernmēt is so to rule his subiectes, as a father ordreth his chiloren,

and beste like of obedient subiectes is one to behaue hymselfe to an other, as though they were brethern vnder the kynge their father. For loue is not the knotte onely of the commune wealth, wherby diuerse partes be perfitely ioyned to gether in one politike body, but also the strength, and mighte of the same, gathering to gether in to a small rome with order, whiche scatered woulde elles breede confusion and debate. Dissention we see in smal houses; and therby maye take example to great comune wealthes, howe it not onlie deceaieth them from wealth, but also abateth them from strength. Thinke small examples to take place in greate matters, and the lyke though not so greate to folowe in the both, and therby learne to iudge of greate thinges vnknowen, by smal thinges perceiued. When brethren agree not in a house, goeth not the weakest to the walles, and w

whom

whom the father taketh part withal, is not he likest to preuaile? Is it not wisedome for the yonger brother, after the good wyl of the parentes to seeke his eldest brothers fauour, who vnder thē is most able to do for him? To seeke them both with honestie is wisdome, to lose them both by sullennes is madnes. Hathe there not bene daily benefites frome the gentlemen to you, in some more, & in some lesse, but in none cōsidered, which thei haue more frindly offered, then you haue gentely requited. This must ye lose, when ye wyll not be thankefull, and learne to gaine new good wyll by deserte, when ye forfake tholde frendeship vnprouoked. And ye must think that liuing in a comune wealth to gether, one kinde hath nede of an other, and yet a great sort of you more nede of one gentleman, then one gentlemā of a greate sorte of you, and though all be partes of one comune wealth,

yet

yet al be not lyke worthy partes, but al being vnder obedience, some kinde in more subiection one wai, and some kinde in more seruice a nother waye. And seinge ye be lesse able by money & liberalitie, to deserue good wil then other be, & your only kinde of deserte is to shew good wil, which honest mē do wel accepte asmuch worth as money, haue ye not much hindred & hurt your selfe herei, losing ỹ one kinde of humanitie which ye haue only left & turnig it in to cruelti, which ye ought moost to abhorre, not only because it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noi some to you. I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herin, but ye must finde some incōuenience herein, if ye folowe your stifnes stil, & must nedes iudge ỹ ye haue wilfully brought on your selues suche plages as the lyke coulde not haue fallen on you, but by your selues. Seing then thus ma ny wayes ye haue hurte the comune

wealth

wealth of this whole contrei within, by destructiō of shieres, losyng of her nest, wasting of vitaile, decayng of mantode, vndoing of farmers, encre sing of vagabondes, mainteining of disorder, hindring of redresses, bring ging in of Martial lawe, & bredinge continuall hatered amonges diuers states, what thinke ye I praye you, iudge ye not ỹ ye haue cōmitted an o pious & a detestable crime againste thole comune wealthe, whose furde raunce ye ought to haue tendred by duti, & not to haue sought ỹ hurt ther of with your owne dāmage.

☞ Besides al these inward griefes, which euery one seuerally must nedes fele wō miserie, there happeneth so ma ny outward mischaūces amōg straū gers to vs wō disdaine, ỹ if ther were nothing il wō in the realme which we should feele, yet ỹ shame which doth touch vs frō other cōtreis should not ōli moue but also cōpel you harteli to forthinke this your rebellious sedicīō.

For what shall straungers thinke, when thei shal heare of the great mis order, whiche is in this Realme with suche a confusion, ỹ no order of lawe cā be kepe you vnder, but must be faine to be beatē doune with a kinges pow er, Shall they not firste thinke the kinges maiestie, in whose minde god hathe powred so muche hope for a childe, as we may loke for giftes in a man, other for his age to be litle set by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for defaute of loue to be resisted, and no notable grace of god in him considered, nor the worthines of his office loked vpon, nor natural obedience due to hym remembred. Shal they not next suppose smal estimatiō to be geuē to ỹ rulers, to whō vnder ỹ king we owe due obedience, that cā not in iust & lawfull matters be hard, nor men to haue that right iudgemēt of their wisedome, as their iustice in rule, and forsight in coun-

sell

tel requireth, but rather preker their owne phãsies to others experience, & deame their owne reaso to be comune wealth, & other mẽs wisdom to be but dreaming. Shal thei not truly saye, the subiectes to be moze vnfaithfull in disobedience, then other subiectes wozse ozdzed be, and licence of libertie to make wylde heades withoute ozder, and that they neither haue reason that vnderstand not the mischief of sedition, noz duetie which kolowe their beastlines, noz loue in thẽ which so litle remembze the comune weolth, noz natural affection which wyldelie seeke their owne destruction. Thus the whole contrey lackinge the good opinion of other nations is caste in to great shame by your vnrulines, & and the procedinges of the contrey be they neuer so godly shal be yl spoken of, as vnfitte to be brought in to vse, and good thinges hereby that deserueth prayse, shall byde the rebuke

of them that lyste to speke yll, and yll thinges vntouched shall be boldlyer maintetned, nothing may with prayse be redressed, where thinges be measured by chaunsable disorder, rather the by necessary vse, and that is thought most pollitike, that men wyl be besse contented to do, and not that whiche men should be brought vnto bi duty. And w what duty or vertue in ye, can ye quech out of mens memories this foule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who hath so vilely with reproche sclaudred the same, and diuerslye discredited it amonge others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust gouernment and ruled order, vsed heretofore in this noble realme, which is now most greuous bicause it is now most without cause. If this outward opinion, without further inconuenience were al yet it might wel be borne and wouldo with ease decaie, that it

grewe

grewe, but it hath not only hurte vs with voice, but endaungered vs in deede, and caste vs a greate deale behinde the hande where els we wight haue had a ioylie fordeale. For that o portunitie of time, whiche seldome chaũceth, & is alwaies to be takẽ, hath bene by your frowarde meanes lost this yere, & so vainly spente at home for bringinge downe of you, whiche should els profitably haue ben otherwise bestowed, ẏ it hath bene almoste as great a losse to vs abrode to lacke that we myghte haue opteined, as it was cõbraunce at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whose sedition is to bee abhorred. And we mighte both cõueniẽtli haue inuaded some, if they wold not reasonably haue growen to some kinde of frẽdship, & also defẽded other, which wolde beside promise for times sake, vniustli set vpon vs, & easly haue made this stormi time a faire yere vnto vs, if our mẽ had

bene so happy at home as our likelyhode abrod was fortunat. But what is it I pray, you other to let slyp such an occasiō by negligence, or to stop it by stubburnes which once past away can bee by no meanes recouered, no not thoughe with diligence ye go about, to renforse the same againe.

Was there not I pray you, great hope in the parties, and much likelyhode in the thinge, that the Scottes who hath both troubled vs, & destroied himself to escape that happines of perpetual vnitie, ỹ shuld for both our welthes haue euermore ēdured, wold haue reasonably cōdescēded to some good point of frēdship, had not your dulpe and brainsicke heades come in to such a dulines of reason, ỹ for a trifle which ye ought not to haue done, ye stopped ỹ which ye cā neuer amēd. And what had bene more agreable & cōuenient for vs both, thē as nature hath made vs one & enclosed vs from

all

al other, so we might by agrement be one, and be made seuerall frome other mens rulinge. For while they seke the helpe of other contreis, they decaye them selues, & bringe them selues in to a straunge subiectiō, rather then they would byde an equalitie wt vs; which when they lay theyr affections a part, & loke on their owne state with true reason, thei will then iudge what it is bothe to haue alway theyr neighbour an enemie, & their bought frende a ruler. But they can not alwayes cōtinue in this blind hatered, aud if they wil not forsee it by reason, they must after feele it by experience, and so peraduenture know it to late, when al those occasions, which tyme bringeth, and god ordeineth, be takē away and can not so conueniently be brought to passe, beinge daunted, as thei might afore beinge offred. Ther hathe lacked nothinge hitherto but their good wylles, to be englishe, to

by equall al benefites of this realme, to bee gouerned wyth one ruler and wyth one lawe, to haue ioyned oure ſelfes in alliãce of bloud, in equalite of frẽdſhip, in benefite of one cõmune wealth. The lacke of their partie is cauſe of cõtinual debate, endles war, infinite diſſention, commune hinderaunce to vs both, which who ſoeuer ſealeth the greater ſmarte, we muſte bothe acknowledge and finde faute with the miſeri, howe ſoeuer we wyll amend the cauſe. Al this had ben wel brought to paſſe nowe if your wicked enterpriſes had not muche hindred their furderaunce, and cauſed thẽ to breth againſt their owne profite, and doute much to fall into an agrement wyth vs, who can not well nor ciuilie agree amonge oure ſelues. For howe ſhould they thinke them ſelues to enter into a good ſtate of cõmune wealthe where there is nothing, but diſobedience of ſubiectes rebellio, againe magi-

magistrates, none order of duti, & vn
culines so confuse of ỹ comunes, that
the lyke may perchaunce be foũde, in
loking ouer ỹ course of histories, but
the lyke can not be sene, in remẽbring
thorowe the length of al your times.
But seing thei incõsideratiõ of ỹ best,
sawe ỹ hurte to be longe in lege with
their hired frendes, & the daunger to
stande in cõtinuall warre w̃ their e-
nemies, thought it good councell to
ioine w̃ their neighbors in some nigh
sort of fredship, both for thauoiding
of thoppressiõ of ỹ french, which they
forsaw necessarily to folow, & also for
redeming quietnes, which was to be
gottẽ at no bodies hãde but at oures.
This hope had, & the likelihod grow-
ing to a certeintie, & that quietnes ob
teined that both we should wisely de
lyte, what cõmoditie had sprong ther
of, what wealth would haue risen to
bothe the parties, what euerlastinge
fredship wold haue ben knit for euer,

what happines had blessed euen the most miserable, the experience of fewe daies, would plainly haue declared, & proke of wise heades wolde shortlye haue cõcluded. But al this, this al is dashed, & the great towardnes cleane taken awaye, not by their meanes, who sawe what they shoulde do, and knew what they feared, but by your, by your deuilishe enterprises, & horrible voices whereof did muche more withdrawe men from agrement, then your obedience and duty would haue entised to frendship. Wherfore ye haue done more hurte, thẽ ye cã make amendes, seing your duti can not recouer, that your misorder hath brokẽ and haue losse others quietnes with your owne sturres, & haue marred co mune matters, with priuat factions and so by lacke of wisedome & greatnes of mischief haue brought in losse of hap, & prolonging of trouble.

☞ What saye ye to the frenche, who

promi-

promising peace & continuaunce of his leage, dothe contrarye to promise, make much of occasions, and seing our weaknes, thinketh it is time, not loking howe true a gentlemans faithe shoulde bee, but sekinge honor of victory, against honor of fidelitie. And if we had bene strong this yere with quietnes, not broken with discretion, euen the stoutest men wold haue ben lotheste of trouble, not so hastie to geue the onset, where they had known al to haue ben kensed, & nothing to be wanting. But what honor is gotten to fight with a sicke man, or what manly praise is it to beate doune the lame, chiefly to the valiaunt, who entende by force without suttelty, and by manhoode withoute treason, to get honor in fielde and the fame of victorie. Sedition is the sickenes of a comune wealthe, which is febled and fainted with breach of dissentiō, not able to weld her wealthe by breakyng

kyng of her limmes, & caselyste take when it is miserablieste sieke. But what soeuer occasiō he taketh for aduantage loke who it is at home that grieueth it, and the more losse commeth by the warre, the more thinke your faute to be greuous of it selfe, and odious to other. Ye can not do suche a foule treason at home, but owtward nations shal ringe of it, and by wisedome iudge vs in discention feble, whome in agremente thei haue felte stronge, and therbi seke where ȳ time of the doinge serueth, although the tyme of the doer serue nothing at al. By this meanes ye see the leages of peace broken, opē warre proclaimed, the kynges contries inuaded, what thende wil be, you must nedes iudge, if ye thinke of the time at home, howe ye do not only trouble it, but also almost wholy betraye it. If ye woulde with wickednes, haue forsaken your faith to your naturall contret & haue

sought

sought craftinicanes to haue vtterli betraied it to oure comune enemies, could ye haue had any other spedier waie then this is, bothe to make oure strēgth weak, & their weaknes strōg. If ye wold haue sought to haue spited your cōtrey, & to haue plesed your enemie, & folowe their counsel for our hindraūce, could ye haue had deuised of thē, any thing more shamefull for vs & ioyful to them. If thei which lie like spials, & herkē after liklihodes of thinges to come, because they declare oportunitie of tymes to thenemie, are to be iudged comune enemies of the contrei, what shall we resonably thinke of you, who do not secretly bewraie ye counsels of other, but openly betraie the comune wealth with your owne deedes, and haue as muche as lieth in you, sought the ouerthrowe of it at home, whiche if ye had obtened at Goddes hande, as he neuer aloweth soo horrible an enterpryse,
howe

Howe could ye haue defended it fro the ouerthrow of other abrod? For is your vnderstandyng of thynges so smal, that although ye se your selues not vnfit to get the vpper hand of a fewe gentlemen, ẏ ye be able to beate doune afore ye the kinges power, ye and by chaunce ye were able to do ẏ, would ye iudge your selues by strength mighti inough to resiste the power of outward nations that for praise sake woulde inuade ye? Naye thinke truly with your selues, that if ye do ouercome, ye be vnsure both bi strēgth abrode, and displeasure of honest mē at home, and by the punishmēt of the god aboue, and now ye haue not yet gotten in dede, that your vaine hope looketh for by phansie, thinke howe certeinly ye haue wounded ẏ comune wealth w̄ a sore stroke, in procuring the frenthe by our weakenes to seeke victorie, & by our outward misery to seke outward glorie, w̄ inward disho

nor,

soeuer thei get thinke it to be long of you, which haue offered thē victorie, afore thei began war, because ye wold declare to men hereafter bylyke, how daungerous it is to make sturres at home, whē thei do not only make our selues weake, but also our enemies strong.

☞ Beside these theris another sort of mē, desirous of aduaūtage, & disdainful of our wealth, whose grief is most our greatest hap, and be offēded with religion, because they be drowned in superstitiō, mē zealed toward god, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, thē thei iudge bi their meaninge, worthier whose ignoraūce should be takē awaie, then their wyl should be folowed, whom we shoulde more rebuke for their stubburnes, thē despise for their ignoraunce. These seinge superstitiō beaten downe, & religion set vp, gods worde taking place, traditions kept in their kind, differēce

made

made betwene gods cōmaundemētes and mans learning; the truth of thinges sought out according to christes institution, examples taken of the primitiue churches vse, not at ye Bishop of Romes ordinaūce, & true worship taught & wil worship refused, do by blindnes rebuke ye as bi truth thei should folowe, & by affection folow ye as bi knowledge they shuld abhorre, thinkinge vsage to be truthe & scripture to be errour, not waiynge bi the worde, but miscōstruing by custume. And nowe thinges be chaūged to the better, & religiō trulier apointed, thei se matters go awrie, which hurteth ye whole realme, & they reioyse in this mischief, as a thing worthely happened, mistaking the cause, & slaūdring religiō, as though ther were no cause whi god might haue punished, if their vsed professiō might styll haue taken place. Thei se not ye where gods glorie is truliest set forth, there ye deuil is

moste

moſt buſie for his part, & laboreth to corrupt bi lewdnes, ỹ as is gotte out bi the truth, thinking ỹ if it were not blemiſhed at the firſt, ỹ reſidue of his falſehead ſhould after leſſe preuaile. So he troubleth bi biwaies he cā not plainly withſtāde, & vſeth ſubtiltie of ſophiſtry, where plaine reaſō fayleth, and perſwadeth ſimple men ỹ to be a cauſe, which in dede cā not be tried & takē for a cauſe. So he cauſeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged ỹ cauſe of ſedition, & the doctrine of loue, ỹ ſede of diſcentiō, miſtaking ỹ thinge, but perſwading mens mindes, & abuſing ỹ plaine meaning of ỹ honeſt, to a wicked ende of religions ouerthrow. The huſbande man had not ſo ſone throwen ſeede in his grounde, but ſteppeth vp thenemie & he ſoweth cocle to, and maketh men doute, whether the good houſebande had done well or no, and whether he had ſowen there good ſeede or bad.

The

The phãsiful Iewes in Egypt wold not beleue Ieremie, but thought their plage & their miserie to come by his meanes, and leauing of Idolatrie, to be the cause of penurie, wherfore by wilful aduise they entẽded to forsake the Prophets councell, & thought to serue god most truly, by their roted & accustomed Idolatrie. When ẏ christen men were persecuted in the primitiue church, and daili suffered martyrdome, for christes profession, suche faire season of wether was for .iii. or iiii. yere together, ẏ the heathen iudged ther vpon god to be delighted with their crueltie, and so were perswaded ẏ with the bloud of the martyrs, thei pleased god highly. Suche phansies lighted nowe in papistes & irreligious mens heades, and ioyne thinges bi chaunce happening together, and concludeth the one to be the cause of the other, and thẽ delighteth in true worshippers hurte, because

they

thei iudge turfedly ẏ good to be bad, and therfore reioyseth in the punishement of ẏ godly. For they deing flesh lie, iudge by outward thinges, & perceiue not ẏ inward, for ẏ thei lacke ẏ sprite, and so iudge amis, not vnderstãding god, what diuersitte he suffereth, to blind stil the wilful, & thorow al daungers, he saueth his forchosen. Thus haue ye geuen a large occasiõ, to stubburne papistes both to iudge amis, & also to reioyse in this wicked chaunce, contented with our mischief not liking our religion, & thinkinge God dothe punyshe for this better chaunge, and haue therby an yl opinion of gods holy truth cõfirmed in in them by no sure scripture, but by folowing of mischaunce, which they oughte to thinke to comme for the pride and stubburnes of the people, who doth not accepte gods glorie in good parte, nor geue no due praise to their lorde and maker. What should

I saye more? ye hurte euerie waie, the daungers be so great, & the periles so many, which do daylie tolow your deuelyshe enterprise, ẏ the more I seke in the matter, the more I cōtinually see to say. And what wordes can worthely declare this miserable beastlines of yours, whiche haue entended to deuide ẏ realme, and arme the one part, for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not only ẏ health, but also the strength of the realme, so is sedition not only the weaknes, but also thaposteme of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great daunger of recouerie, & corrupteth the whole comune wealth w̄ the rottē furie that it hath longe putrified with. For it is not in sedition as in other fautes which being mischeuous of them selues, haue some notable hurt alwaies fast adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hel of fautes, not seuerally scatered,

tered, but clustered on a lumpe, together & cōming on so thicke, ẏ it is vnpossible for a region armed with all kinde of wisedome & strength therto, to auoide the daungers ẏ issueth out therof. When sedition once breaketh out, se ye not the lawes ouerthrowen, the magistrates despised, spoyling of houses, murdering of men, wastinge of contreis, encrease of disorder, diminishing of the realmes strēgth, swarming of vagabondes, scarsitie of laborers, & those mischiefes all plenteoūsly brought in, which god is wont to scorge seuereli ẇ al, warre, dearth, pestilence? And seinge ye haue thefte and murder, plage & famine, confusiō and idlenes lynked to gether, can ye looke for anye more mischiefe in one shameful enterprise, then ye euidētly see, to growe herein? As for warre although it be miserable, yet ẏ one part getteth somewhat, & reioyseth in the spoile, and so goeth lustier away, and

other encreaseth his contrey with riches, or enhaunseth him self w̄ glori, but in seditiō both the partes loseth, the ouercōmed can not flie, the ouercōmer can not spoile, ẏ more the winner winneth, the more he loseth, the more that escape, the more infamous men lyue, al that is gained is scasely saued, the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, bothe waste them selues, & the whole most wasted, the strēgthening of them selues, the decaie of the contrey, the striuing for the victorie, is a praye to thenimie, and shortly to saye, ẏ hellishe turmoile of sedition, so far passeth ẏ comune miserie of war, as to sleye himselfe is more heinous then to be slaine of an other. O noble peace, what wealth bringest ẏ in, how doth all thinges florishe in felde and in towne, what forwardnes of religion, what encrease of learninge, what grauitie in councell, what deuise of witte, what order of maners, what of

bedience

bedience of lawes, what reuerence of
ſtates, what ſauegarde of houſes,
what quietnes of life, what honor of
contreis, what frendſhip of mindes,
what honeſtie of pleaſure, haſte thou
alwaies mainteined, whoſe happines
we knewe not while now we feele the
lacke, and ſhall learne by miſery, to
vnderſtand plentie, and ſo to auoide
miſchief, bi the hurte that it bringeth,
& learne to ſerue better where rebelli-
on is once knowen, and ſo to liue tru-
lie, and kepe the kinges peace. What
good ſtate were ye in afore ye began,
not pricked with pouertie, but ſtir-
red with miſchiefe, to ſeeke your de-
ſtruction, hauinge waies to redreſſe
al that was amiſſe, magiſtrates moſt
readie to tender all iuſtice, and pitti-
full in hearing ỹ poore mens cauſes,
whiche ſoughte to amende matters
more then you can deuiſe, and readie
to redreſſe them, better then ye coulde
imagine, and yet for a headines ye

coulde not be cõtented, but in despite of god, who cõmaundeth obedience & contempt of the kynge, whose lawes seketh your wealth, & ouerthrow of ye contrey, whiche naturally we should loue, ye would proudly rise, and do ye wot not what, & amend thinges bi rebelliõ to your vtter vndoing. What state leaue ye vs in nowe, beseeged with enemies, deuided at home made pore with spoile & losse of our heruest, vnordred & caste doune, with slaughter and hatered, hindred from amend mentes, by our owne deuelyshe haste, endaungered with sickenesses, bi reason of misorder, layed open to mens pleasures, for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to suche faintenes, that seasely it wyl be recouered. Wherfore for gods sake haue pitie on your selues, consider howe miserably ye haue spoyled and destroied and wasted vs all, & if for desperatenes, ye care not for your selues, yet remembre your

wiues

wyues, your children, your countrey, and forsake this rebellion, with humble submission, acknowledge your faultes, and tary not the tremitte of the kinges swerde, leaue of wt repentaunce & turne to your duties, aske God forgeuenes, submitte ye to your kyng, be cõtented for a comune weal the one or two to die, & ye captaines for the residue sacrifice your selues, ye shall so best attaine ỹ kinges gratious pardon, saue the assemble, and helpe the comune wealthe, & declare your doinges to procede of no stubburnes, but al this mischiefe to growe out of ignoraunce, which seing ỹ miserie would redresse the faute, and so recouer best the blot of your disorder, and staye ỹ great miseries which bee lyke to folowe. Thus if ye do not, thinke truly with your selues, ỹ god is angrie with you for your rebellió, the kinges sweard drawne to defend his contrey, ỹ crie of the poore to god

against

againſt ye, the redines of the honeſte in armor to vāquiſhe ye, your death to be at hand, which ye cā not eſcape, hauing god againſt ye, as he promiſeth in worde, the kinges power to ouerthrowe ye gathered in the feld, the comune wealthe to beate ye downe, wt ſtripes & with curſes, the ſhame of your miſchiefe to blemiſhe ye for euer.

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